



Classical Bulletin

Special Issue 3, 2018

doi: 10.33909/cb/94.2018.03.39

---

## **Fernando de Aragón, Isabel de Castilla and the early perception of Turkish danger (1472-1480)**

**By: Miguel Moenos**

XAVIER UNIV DEPT CLASSICS, 3800 VICTORY PKWY, ML 5181, CINCINNATI, OH 45207 USA

---

### ABSTRACT

Today a historiographic regrowth seems to be coming from the Catalan side of a new antifernandist sign. Manuel S. Peláez has made an effort to demonstrate that Catalan reconstruction began in 1474, years before the reign of the Catholic King and that the political achievements of this king were already enunciated by John II. The degree thesis of Angel Casals stresses that the main meaning of Fernando is "The maintenance of the framework of feudal relations to the camp com al la ciutat". The progressivism of institutional innovations has been questioned by the latest institutionalist historiography, from Ferro to Torras and Ribé.

Keywords: Turkish danger, Fernando Aragon, perception, Castilla

From the Castilian scope it has not been well valued, insofar as he is considered as representative of the Crown of Aragon, oblivious to Spanish-Spanish essentialism. But it has also received the penalty from the Catalan area, as long as it was still a Trastámara, Castilian dynasty responsible for the Catalan economic decline of the fifteenth century. We had to wait until the thirties of our century so that first Vicens-Vives - after a harsh polemic with the Catalan historiographical romanticism led by Rovira and Virgili - and later historians like Ricardo del Arco, Giménez Soler, Ferrari Doussinague ..., will revalue Fernando in the singular correlation of forces established with respect to Isabel. two

Perhaps the stellar moment of this historiographical revaluation of Fernando from the viewpoint of the Crown of Aragon was the V Congress of History of the Crown of Aragon (Zaragoza, 1955).

And despite this scarce historiographical fortune, the truth is that King Ferdinand could initially have a messianic anxiety that had been developing in the Crown of Aragon since the mid-fourteenth century and that made the figure of a king who would

redeem the sad situation of decadence for which, especially Catalonia, would pass along the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Certainly, the civil war (1462-72) during the reign of his father had provoked a fascination in a sector of Catalan society towards Charles, the Prince of Viana, who died early in 1461, in the midst of a mythical halo that generated even proposals of beatification. Fernando did what he could to cut this current and capitalize on messianic anxiety for his benefit. The many organic intellectuals who in Castile promoted the Catholic Monarchs would be much more favorable to Isabel than to Fernando. We can say the same of the Italians. Pulgar and Pedro Mártir lashed Fernando's greed and lust.<sup>6</sup> The glosses to Fernando from the Crown of Aragon will be poor. The exaltations that we see are projected more towards the couple (Isabel and Fernando) than towards the king only. The most frequently cited example has been that of Cardinal Girona Margarit who dedicates his *Paralipomenon Hispaniae* -the work was finished to be written in 1483 although it would not be published until 1545 in Granada- to the Catholic Monarchs, whose marriage, according to him, has united Hispania citerior and ulterior and passionately glosses the company of the conquest of Granada. Margarit finishes his work with Augusto, whom he seems to approve with the political enterprise of the Catholic Monarchs fifteen hundred years later.

Similar glosses we see in the canon of the cathedral of Gerona, Andrés Alfonsello.<sup>7</sup> But neither Catalan historiography coeval with the king nor later is extraordinarily Fernandist. Pere Miquel Carbonell, archivist of the king, dedicates his work *Croniques de Espanya* (begun in 1495, finished in 1513 and printed in 1546) also to King Ferdinand, but remains on his tour of the counts-kings in John II with few references to Fernando himself. Francesc Tarafa published in 1553 his *From origine ac rebus gestis Regum hispaniae liber* Covering from Tubal to Emperor Charles, passing very quickly by the Catholic King.

The work of Pere Tomic *Histories e conquestes dels reys d'Aragó and comtes de Barcelona* finished in 1448, it was printed in Barcelona in 1495 and reissued several times (1519 and 1534) with two chapters added on John II and the Catholic King but to which very little space is dedicated.<sup>8</sup>

The same can be said of the Aragonese or Valencian chroniclers. The Aragonese Gauberto Fabricio Vagad, named senior chronicler by Fernando the Catholic, wrote a *Chronicle of the kings of Aragon* (1499) with undisguised sympathies towards Carlos de Viana. Jerónimo de Zurita, named chronicler in 1548 wrote his *Annals of the Crown of Aragon* (1562) from the Muslim invasion until 1510 but on Fernando, who wrote more, particularly about his last years, would be Argensola, chronicler since 1599.

Neither the Valencian Beuter in his *First part of the history of Valencia*, printed in Valencia in 1538 is the reign of the Catholic King. We can say the same about Viciano (1564).

Until the seventeenth century the reign of the Catholic King does not seem to shine with its own light in historiography. Gracian was the great discoverer of the king (1646), reversing the traditional correlation of forces in the competition between Isabel and Fernando in the historiographic market. In the same line we must mention Juan Blázquez (1646), Antoine Varillas (1680) and especially Saavedra Fajardo. From Catalonia it will be, curiously, during the Catalan revolution of 1640, when Ferdinand the Catholic becomes the great representative of Catalan pactism, as we shall see. Significantly, Pellicer in the work *Idea of the Principality of Catalonia* (1642) would criticize the bad "reason of State" that Ferdinand the Catholic would follow with

Barcelona, «Allowing a popular form of government». In any case, the great figures of Catalan historiography of this century do not write about Fernando. Neither Pujades, nor Diago or Bosch, significantly in their respective historical works reach the Catholic Monarchs. In the eighteenth century from Catalonia, the image of Ferdinand the Catholic will be the same that Baltasar Gracian had produced: that of the pragmatic politician. This is denoted in the Philippist texts of the War of Succession. Also the text of A. Codorniu (*Index of philosophia moral christiano politico*, Gerona, 1753) is significant: «At what age will the Art of Reign of our Don Fernando, who was the last of Aragon, not be astonishment, to crown them all, being able to be the first in any part of the world? With politics in the head and soul in Religion, it was the School of Kings and earned the renown of Catholic: Blazon of honor and light that derived its Legitimate Successors. Let the envious stranger bark against Fernando; that the miserable one is relieved by spitting Heaven, since she could never face the value and expertise of her weapons ».

But this journey through the historiographical opinion about Fernando el Católico does not reflect the perception that contemporary Catalan society had of its king. What did the legendary 1492 mean for the Catalans? How were the great events of 1492 assumed from Catalonia?

For the time being the expulsion of the Jews was irrelevant in a Catalonia, on the other hand, very punished by the terrible inquisitorial incidence on the Jewish converts.

Indeed, after the initial resistance to the Inquisition, especially reflected in the Cortes of 1484, the inquisitors Alonso de Espina and Martín García exercised a feverish repressive activity. From 1487 to 1505, according to Blázquez, a total of 1263 Catalan converts were prosecuted (486 men, 777 women), about half of whom were absent, given the massive flight that sparked fear of the Inquisition, a flight that affected so many others such notable characters as Antonio Bardaxí, Regent of the Royal Chancellery.<sup>10</sup> The number of people sentenced to death, in any case, only affected 2.9% of the total number of defendants. The greater intensity of the repression was prior to 1492. The replacement of Espina this year by Contreras greatly reduced the inquisitorial belligerence.<sup>eleven</sup>

The expulsion of the Jews was established in a decree signed by the Catholic Monarchs in Granada on March 31, 1492, but in the Crown of Aragon is not published until May 1 in Gerona and Lleida. The deadline for compliance with the expulsion was set for all of Spain on July 31, 1492. In Roussillon, it should be said that having been delivered to France in 1473, the decree did not come into force until September 21, 1493 when it rejoined to the Crown. In Navarre the expulsion would take place in 1498 and in Portugal in September 1497.

Most of the Jews expelled in the Crown of Aragon undertook a trip by sea to Italy: Naples, above all, and Genoa. Then to the Ottoman East. The Castilian Jews, on the other hand, would emigrate en masse towards Portugal, North Africa, Bordeaux and the Netherlands, although in the end they also projected towards the Turkish East.

The number of Jews expelled throughout the Crown of Aragon according to recent studies of Motis and Romano would not exceed 20,000 people, a fifth or a sixth of the total expelled in the Crown of Castile, and 2% of the total population of the Crown of Aragon.<sup>12</sup>

Scant figure, if we take into account that many of them returned and perhaps can explain that among the Sephardim, according to Romano, there are no traces of

Catalan, contrary to the curious survival of the Judeo-Castelan (or Ladino) who still speak today millions of people.

If so few Jews were expelled - in Catalonia they should not exceed 3 or 4,000 people - it was because throughout the 15th century the process of spontaneous or forced conversion was an incontrovertible fact. The only one of the expelled Jews of certain renown was the Girona Bonastruc Benvenist, one of the few Jewish collectors of the taxes paid by the payeses de remensa. 1492 with respect to the Jews was, therefore, more the rubric of a long process of conversion that started from 1391 than the mythical date of the Jewish exodus that has often been stressed in dramatic terms. The drama existed, certainly, but it was more a converted drama than a non-Jewish one and certainly did much more damage to the Inquisition in the demographic aspect, as in the socio-economic or cultural, than the famous expulsion edict, which we insisted, simply closed a parenthesis opened in 1391. 13

The conquest of Granada had very little concrete impact in Catalonia. It supposed, indeed, some very serious costs for Castile that are estimated at 800 million maravedis. And for Catalonia? If not in money, there would be a contribution in men to the war. The king in the privilege that creates the registration of ciutadans honrats (1510) alludes among the merits of these to the assistance rendered in different wars, including that of Granada.

In the different relationships of examples of fidelity of Catalonia to the monarchy that are published in the seventeenth century (Sala, Corbera, Marcillo) the Catalan contribution to the conquest of Granada is mentioned. 14 Vicens acknowledged, however, the scarce Catalan contribution in its funding, which he attributed to the Catalan economic situation since, according to him, his identification with a company that is unquestionable is unquestionable. « Els catalans sentien com a vasalls i com a cristians ». 15

If the conquest of Granada was celebrated by the Catalans although there was little collaboration in the company, the discovery of America, or rather the voyages of Columbus, did have important support from the Crown of Aragon, a support tendentiously forgotten by Castile many times. to possibly justify the alleged subsequent monopoly. For historians like Pérez Embid, the assumption by Castilla of the discovery of America was justified by "Pure law of historical-diplomatic gravity" and supported, according to him, in the Treaty of Monteagudo, of December 1, 1291 which delimited the eastern lands of the Muluya for Aragon and those of the west for Castile, thus relegating the Crown from Aragon to the Mediterranean and away from the Atlantic adventure. The truth is that that is hardly credible. The Atlantic tradition of the Crown of Aragon can not be forgotten. At least four trips of Majorcans to the Canary Islands during the 15th century are known. It was precisely the portulano of Angelino Dulcet (1339) who first divulged the existence of the Canaries. Traffic with Guinea was practically monopolized by the Catalans in the fifteenth century. 16

The study carried out by Manzano from the years prior to the discovery since the arrival of Columbus to the Rábida in 1484 requires a review of the myth of the exclusive Castilian support for Columbus. They are the kings, not only the queen, those who receive it in the different audiences. King Fernando will have the decisive intervention when entrusting to two people, at the last moment, the project of Columbus: to Brother Hernando de Talavera and to Fray Diego de Deza. Fernando himself boasted of his decision. In 1508, addressing the general chapter of the Order of San Francisco meeting in Barcelona, he noted "To have been the main head of those islands have been discovered." A few years later, Cristòfol Despuig wrote in his *Col.loquis* : « The day of

the Indies of the Ocean Sea that Christopher Columbus Genoese comensà and après finish Fernando Cortes and Francisco Pizarra, to the prosperous fortune of the king D. Fernando de Aragón, by manament and ordre del qual comensa has been attributed ". If important supporters had Columbus in Castile, he also had them in the Crown of Aragon, as Fray Diego de Deza, Juan Cabrero, Juan de Coloma and Luis de Santángel. The administrative and economic management of the discovery must be attributed to the Crown of Aragon. The first trip cost about two million maravedis, more than a million of which were lent by the Valencian Jew Luis de Santángel, and the other would be for the most part a group of Genoese bankers. For many years now, the historian Francisco Martínez y Martínez demonstrated the falsity of the alleged sale of jewelry by Isabel la Católica.

The document prior to the most important discovery is that of the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe, which records the contract prior to the discovery with the awarding of the charges that Columbus, would have in the event of achieving its purpose.

Leaving aside the curious phrase of the preamble of the Capitulation ( "has discovered in the oceans seas"), which supported the thesis of pre-discovery, the capitulations of April 3, 1492 were signed by Juan de Coloma, secretary of the Crown of Aragon, and included in the records of the Royal Chancellery of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon.

Manzano has argued, against the opinion of Pérez Embid, that the acquisition of new lands is done on a personal basis and not of the respective Crowns (of Castile or Aragon). It is based on the constant use in the documentation of the formula «Their Highnesses» and in which, an abstract and indefinite is mentioned «Our reynos». For Manzano, in conclusion, the Indies were initially a kind of undivided community property whose legal destiny was later determined by the march of political events. 17

The capitalization by the Catholic King of the discovery was very clear. Demetrio Ramos has demonstrated that the famous letter of Colón to Santángel, supposed first communiqué of the success of the first trip, was a falsification mounted by the own Catholic King like propagandistic measurement to obtain of Alexander I SAW the bull of concession in front of the pretensions of the Portuguese neighbor .

Most of the Latin editions of this Letter of Santángel include a small prolog in which it was indicated that Columbus had been sent to discover: «Islands of the Indian Ocean by the invincible Fernando, King of Spain».

Certainly there was no citizen of the Crown of Aragon among the 90 companions of Columbus of the first trip. But the Catholic Kings received Columbus in Barcelona after the first trip in April of 1493. The municipal dietaria did not echo but we do have some interesting testimony of the stay of Columbus in Barcelona as the letters written by Pedro Mártir d'Angleria: «In these days a certain Christopher Columbus has arrived from the western antipodes. He is a Ligurian man, to whom my sovereigns, almost with disgust, entrusted three ships to search that region, because he thought that what he said was fabulous ... ».In another letter, written from Valladolid on February 1, 1494, he says: « (...) the king and queen, when Columbus arrived from his illustrious enterprise, made him Admiral of the Ocean and allowed him, in honor of his high feats, to sit in his presence ...».

The truth is that the second trip had Catalan representation, which included the famous bishop of Gerona, Pedro Margarit, and the friar Bernardo Boyl, prior of the convent of Montserrat, as well as Miquel Ballester and the chronicler Ramón Pané. One of the islands found on this trip was called Montserrat. The confrontation of Columbus

with Margarit and Boyl for questions of government in the islands motivated the early return of these to Spain in October 1494. In the preparation of the third trip would highlight another Catalan: Jaime Ferrer de Blanes. Many historians attribute to him the inspiration of the astral course under the equinox followed by Columbus.

It is also known a project of exploitation of Terranova, capitulated by the Catholic King, by Joan d'Agramunt, and, on the other hand, Jaime Vicens Vives insisted on the importance that Catalonia had as alleged inspirer of the viceregal institution implanted in America. Madurell Marimon highlighted the Catalan presence in the early colonization of Santo Domingo with prominence in the first trials of acclimatization of sugarcane in the Caribbean lands. 19

Thus, we can say that Catalonia did not initially disinterested in the Colombian project and collaborated in the first trips to America. Let us add also that one can not speak, as has so often been done, of inhibition in the exploitation of the commercial benefits provided by America. As of 1520 and after overcoming the suggestion of the African market, the symptoms of Catalan commercial avidity with America are manifold. Carlos Martinez Shaw has pointed out that the Catalans intervened with greater or lesser intensity in the Indian race since the very opening of the American market, despite the validity of the Sevillian monopoly. Throughout the Modern Age and certainly long before the mythical date of 1778, the beginning of free trade with America existed, a permanent communication of the trade of Catalonia with the colonial world through the scales of Seville, Lisbon and Cádiz. Only the Catalans suffered discrimination in the period 1504-24. As of 1526, there are no obstacles to Catalan trade with America, as Romà Pinya has ratified, even with nuances, and, in fact, Vilar and JM Delgado have documented the frequent formation of Catalan companies to trade with the Indies. twenty

So, and returning to our initial approach, we can say that of all the events of '92 it was America, even with all its limitations, that reflects the greatest immediate incidence among Catalans. But this is not strident or enthusiastic. The perception of these events was determined by the situation in Catalonia, with many problems. It had not yet emerged from a serious demographic and economic crisis.

In 1492 Catalonia had about 250,000 inhabitants, with Roussillon, which meant no less than 40% less population than it would have at the time of greatest population in the fourteenth century. Its density was one of the lowest in the Peninsula. The city of Barcelona would only have about 23,000 inhabitants in 1492. The plagues, throughout the fifteenth century constantly plagued the city of Barcelona. According to him Dietari of the Antic Consell Barceloní, the plague of 1465 caused 3,805 deaths; that of 1475, 2,116 dead; the one of 1478, 51; that of 1483, 1387; and that of 1489-90 no less than 3,765. 21

Economically and socially, Catalonia had suffered severely from a very long-lasting crisis dragged down through the centuries. The remensa conflict that affected some 15 or 20,000 homes (a quarter of the population at the time) had finally been resolved in the Arbitration Judgment of Guadalupe of 1486. But today historians are far from accepting the idyllic image that Vicens Vives drew. of the Judgment as the starting point of a regime of liberties and emphyteutic relations that would guarantee the proverbial stability of the Catalan countryside. It is quite true that the Judgment will mean the liberalization of the condition of the peasant of remensa with the abolition of the six evil uses to which he was subjected and the subsequent recovery of the Catalan countryside supported by the unit of production arising from the incorporation of the " masos " rònecs »to the old farms. But in parallel, as Eva Serra has shown, it meant

great benefits for the large tenants who could inherit exploitation and of course for the great feudal lords who continued to control the feudal legal relationships with coercive capacity over the small peasantry, a small peasantry that then he should not have felt happy about the Judgment. 22 On December 7, 1492 when he left the chapel of St. Agatha of a hearing of justice the Catholic King was attacked by a peasant named Joan de Cañamares who inflicted a knife in the shoulder.

The official historiography of the moment -Pere Miquel Carbonell- described this Cañamares as loco (*rusticum mentecaptum*). The attack has even left us a drawing made by the anonymous writer of the *Dietari* of the Consell de Barcelona. The subject attracted such attention that a tragicomedy was composed: *Fernandus be atus*, written by Carlos and Marcelino Berardo to represent the event. The execution of such Cañamares was very delicate, meticulously described by Carbonell. 2. 3 In 1492, it was, for Catalonia, not only the year of the great events so many times glossed, but the year of the attack that was about to cost the life of the Catholic King.

In short, the perception of the Catalan society of these years of King Fernando was very conditioned by the civil war that his father had staged and the serious socio-economic conflict that Fernando himself had to face. The image of this one would be, on the other hand, very influenced by the progressive distancing of the Court of the King of Barcelona, due to its increasingly absent condition.

In Catalonia they were specifically the Catholic Kings, two months in Barcelona in 1479; almost five months in 1480 in Barcelona and almost another six in 1481, and then, retained by the Granada war, did not return until 1492.

1492 was the year in which the Catholic Kings stayed longer in Catalonia than their reign. From Granada they had left for Zaragoza on August 18. In this city they remained until October 5. From Zaragoza they marched to Barcelona where they were from October 18 to September 6 of 1493, that is, eleven months, date in which they moved to Perpignan. Here they were until October 6 when they returned to Barcelona on October 9. In the city they stayed until in the month of November of 1493 they left for Zaragoza and from there to Castile. They would return to Catalonia, specifically to Tortosa, from S. Mateo in January of 1496 and then in the same year to Gerona, in August, from Almazán.

They would not return to Barcelona since May 1503. They were in Barcelona from May to October of that year to spend the month of October in Gerona and Perpignan, where they returned to Barcelona in November. The Catholic Queen would die in 1504.

Ferdinand the Catholic would not return to Catalonia until 1506 (August) to go immediately to Naples and he would no longer set foot on Catalan soil until his death in Madrigalejo in January 1516, from where his body would be transferred to Granada. A sign of absenteeism was the creation of the Council of Aragon in 1494 and the promotion of delegated institutions of royal power such as that of the viceroy and / or governor. 24

But beyond the perception of their Catalan contemporaries, I am interested in adequately nuancing some myths that have circulated about the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic:

1) The first and most glossed has been the alleged Spanish national unity that would bring the marriage of the Catholic Kings, a national unit that has been interpreted by the romantic-Castilian historiography - from Menéndez Pidal to Maravall - as a product eminently Castilian, according to the Ortega's principle

that «Castilla promoted the ideal of nation. From the thirteenth century he saw the total life of Spain with more intensity than the other peninsular regions ... ». 25

In this regard, two clarifications should be made, one of a specific nature and the other of a general nature.

a) Fernando was not an "adláter" of Isabel. Known is the falsehood of Both mount, mount both Isabel and Fernando. The currency Both mounts it was only the currency of the Catholic King who was suggested by Nebrija as a synonym of Nothing matters, it does not matter to undo or cut the yoke knot. The Concord of Segovia of 1475 relegates theoretically to Fernando to the condition of prince consorte in Castile. Isabel remains as queen and sole owner of Castile.

As Pérez says, Isabel does not give anything in the sphere of law and principles, she is and remains the sole owner of the Crown of Castile. 26

The spouses were never fully kings of the Crown contributed to the marriage by the other spouse; The principle of the delegation of power granted was always in force.

Despite this, Fernando el Católico, during the years of what Suarez has called the War of Succession against the supporters of the Beltraneja, had a military activism very prominent in Castile. The campaign of Toro y Zamora was carried out personally in late 1475 and early 1476 with final success.

This and a skilful internationalist strategy of peace with France that he would maintain until 1494 allowed Isabel to consolidate herself definitively as queen in Castile towards 1480, legitimizing a throne of which, as J. Pérez has acknowledged, was possibly usurping. The role of Isabel in the Crown of Aragon was less. The Salic Law did not allow it, as a woman, although on exceptional occasions it had special relief, as in the Cortes de Aragón of 1481 that she presided, when the king was in Barcelona. In spite of everything, there is no shortage of Catalan historians, such as Jaume Ramon Vila in his *Tractat d'armory* (written in 1622), who are irritated because they consider that Fernando left their kingdoms for the benefit of Castile, for which he came to accept the « Sobering that the Queen Reyna Dona Isabel of the Catholic King and the Castilians to sit in the Seus Escrits Reals the arms of Castella and Leó to ma drareta of those of Arago and Sicily », although Fernando, supposedly, would regret after the death of Isabel. 27

In any case, the death of Isabel la Católica and her testament brought to light the absolutely personal characteristics of the union. Juana will be the heir of the Crown of Castile and Fernando only King of Aragon, stating that he will only be regent in case of "That Juana does not want or could not understand in the government of them" (obvious reference to his presumed madness). The legitimate desires of Ferdinand the Catholic to govern in Castile were blocked by the Castilian nobility that supported Felipe the Handsome. The Concordia of Villafafila forces Ferdinand the Catholic to renounce the Castilian regency and retire to the Crown of Aragon. When considering Fernando lost its protagonism in Castile is when it decides to marry with Germana de Foix, the niece of Luis XII of France. The negotiator of this union was Fr. Juan de Enguera, provincial of the Cistercians of Aragon and apostolic inquisitor of Catalonia. Died Felipe the Beautiful in 1506 is reclaimed again like regent in Castile where it would not be incorporated until a year later. In May 1509, he and Doña Germana will have a son who dies a few hours after birth and which would have involved the return to political separation of the Crown of Castile and the Crown of Aragon. It was, then, a product of historical hazards - the Catalan nationalist romantic history entitled it lost occasion or sad destiny; Spanish romantic history Spanish historical predestination - which allowed Carlos I to govern since the death of the



Catholic King as the only king in Castile and Aragon. There was not behind this fact any political project defined in this respect, neither from the Crown of Aragon nor, of course, from Castile, whose nobles did everything possible to charge the political results of the union.

b) The chancellery glosses that the reign of the Catholic Monarchs aroused to the "monarchy of Spain", "the Reynos de Espanya", never assumed regarding the concept of Spain political connotations, but simply geographical or territorial. The personal union of the Catholic Monarchs did not allow the intellectuals of the moment to get further from the awareness of the single government in the Spanish territory formed by the Coronas of Castile and Aragon with their corresponding kingdoms. This seems absolutely unquestionable to me today.

But I am also interested in highlighting the falsehood of the myth that the national unity of the Catholic Kings, the political concept of Spain, was an elaboration of the Castilian Gothic intelligentsia that allegedly connected with the concept of the "loss of Spain", developed by the Archbishop Ximénez de Rada in the thirteenth century. In this regard, it should be emphasized that neither Gothicism in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs had great political weight, as it dominated the conception of the old Roman federal Hispania, nor can it be denied that the concept of Spain was raised in the same sense - we insist, essentially geographical - and at the same time, by Castilians and Catalans. Perhaps it is convenient to remember that Catalan and Castilian historicism are absolutely interrelated until the end of the 16th century. The work of the Archbishop of Toledo, Ximénez de Rada, was soon translated into Catalan (written in 1243, translated into Catalan by Pere de Ribera between 1267-1268) and served as a foundation for all Catalan historical chronicles - from Jaume I to Tomic-, who from the 13th to the 15th century assimilated the origins of Catalonia to the Hispanic mythical past, with full integration of pre-condal Catalonia in the history of primitive Spain. The projection of interest in Hispania is seen in the Aragonese Fernández de Heredia (1385) as in the aforementioned works by Margarit, Carbonell or Tarafa. The titles of the works themselves are significant. It was translated into Catalan by Pere de Ribera between 1267-1268) and served as a foundation for all the Catalan historical chronicles -from Jaume I to Tomic-, which from the 13th to the 15th century assimilated the origins of Catalonia to the Hispanic mythical past, with full integration of pre-condal Catalonia in the history of primitive Spain. The projection of interest in Hispania is seen in the Aragonese Fernández de Heredia (1385) as in the aforementioned works by Margarit, Carbonell or Tarafa. The titles of the works themselves are significant. The projection of interest in Hispania is seen in the Aragonese Fernández de Heredia (1385) as in the aforementioned works by Margarit, Carbonell or Tarafa. The titles of the works themselves are significant. The projection of interest in Hispania is seen in the Aragonese Fernández de Heredia (1385) as in the aforementioned works by Margarit, Carbonell or Tarafa. The titles of the works themselves are significant.

Only in the middle of the XVI century the historiographies of Castile and the Crown of Aragon begin to separate. In fact, the position of chronicler of Aragon is created in the Cortes of 1547 and the first confrontation of historical points of view takes place with the criticism of Alonso de Santa Cruz to the Annals of the Crown of Aragon (1562) of Zurita, consider it pro-Aragonese bias against Castile. Santa Cruz was, by the way, a translator into Spanish of Tarafa's work: *Crónica de España*.

The Cortes of Barcelona in 1564 asked Philip II to name an expert to prepare a chronicle of the Principality in Latin and in Catalan for whose task was appointed Antoni Viladamor who wrote a first part of the General History of Catalonia, dedicated to the Cortes of 1585, which never came to be edited.

However, even in the sixteenth century Catalan historiography mostly tended to integrate the history of Catalonia in the history of Spain. Significantly, the aforementioned Viladamor refers to the "terra de Espanya nomenada vuy Cathalunya" and specifies that "mon intent in all of it, as long as you pose only as a tocants to Cathalunya, I have not yet left in that first part of fer related of moltes tocants to the restant part of Espanya, to be mesclades unes ab them altres com to governades totes per uns mateixos reys, capitans and emperadors ». 28

It is precisely in the 80s, parallel to the new Spanish historiography that is made from Castile from an already political concept of Spain (Mariana, as the best representation) when a different Catalan historiography is developed that will elaborate the formulation for the first time of the "republican theory" of the conquest of Catalonia. The pioneer of this historiography, according to Jesús Villanueva, was Francesc Calça and his *De Catalonia* (1588). 29 According to him, Catalonia was never conquered by foreign kings, but the Goths, once expelled the Saracens, went to the Court of Charlemagne to protect them, agreeing the contractual terms of delivery. Gothicism was then sublimated from Catalonia as a necessary link to not break the national link between the Hispano-Romans of Tarraconense and the Catalan counts of the ninth century. The legitimacy of Guifré el Pilós and the Catalan national dynasty thus found historical arguments that would justify the roots of Catalan pactism and the break with the Carolingian monarchy in the tenth century. The representative works of Catalan pactism published in the reign of Felipe II (the work de Callis -written in the mid-fifteenth century, Serra and above all that of Çarrovera) received in the 1980s the legitimization of historicism. 30 Naturally, the offensive of the Catalan pactism of these years and its historicist correlate is inserted in a political context that has nothing to do with the Catholic Monarchs or the previous tradition, but with the so-called "bodinian revolution", a new concept of the national sovereignty that proposes a reordering of society around the principle of absolute real authority and that breaks with the corporate conception of the political community. 31 Naturally, political thinking and Catalan historiography of the seventeenth century will be determined by the reaction to this offensive of the political concept of Spain that, we insist, was never raised in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. Only in periods of relative political flexibility of the State promoted by the Court or by the conditioning of the suffered historical experiences, Catalonia seems to accept, if not assume, the political concept of Spain (generation of Feliu and generation of Caresmar).

2) The exaltation of the king's absolutism, which from the Castilian historiography is legitimized in the name of the alleged modernity embodied by the Catholic King and, on the other hand, from Catalan historiography has been denigrated ( " tot es combinaà així perquè el monarca procuri tenir the institucions sota la seva vigilància i la seva mercè and adapt them to the mateix temps to the new situation of

Catalonia in the conjunct of the monarchy, situació d'innegable inferioritat , Soldevila). Fernandina innovation was, as is well known, in the introduction of the system of insaculation both for the election of deputies and oidores of the Generalitat (reform introduced in 1493) and for municipal councilors (reform of 1510).

Much simplicity have been said about the insaculation, producing a somewhat absurd polemic. For some, it was the monarchical instrument to guarantee municipal control; for others, it was a resource invoked by the cities themselves to break the corrupt power of the local oligarchies.

For the time being, let us say that the method was not introduced by the Catholic King but by Alfonso V in 1454. Vic already used this procedure in 1450. Gerona in 1457 and Tortosa in 1459.

Fernando the Catholic introduced the insaculation during his reign in a total of 18 cities of the Crown of Aragon (of them, Catalan 13).<sup>32</sup> Thus, the insaculation was not imposed throughout the Crown of Aragon. The institutional problems were very different in each kingdom. In Catalonia, the king appealed to the inscription system because he could not name the juries directly, as he could do in Valencia where through his faithful official, the rational, the king appointed the juries among the members of the list that presented him that. In the kingdom of Aragon the king only introduced the insaculation in Zaragoza in 1506 because he could no longer directly appoint juries.

The political legacy of the Catholic King was very different in each kingdom of the Crown of the Crown of Aragon. The best evidence is that only Valencia, the kingdom most affected by political interventionism and the most "generous", opted for the revolutionary route of the Germanias three years only after the death of the Catholic King.

It is unquestionable that the Catholic King fed and promoted the presence of citizens in the municipal power. Of the 5 Barcelonan consellers , he managed to get a place occupied by a gentleman, two citizens -one of which was subtracted from the artisans or artists- one, a merchant and another, finally, who alternated between artists and artisans -before the reign of the Catholic King, they had a fixed square the artists and another the menestrales-. In Valencia the composition of the 6 juries was of two gentlemen and four citizens, without the least presence of mechanics or farmers. In Zaragoza, of the 5 jury seats, three were occupied by citizens, one by mechanics and another by farmers, without any noble representation, curiously.

Parallel to the devaluation of the popular presence and accentuation of the role of the citizens, progressively ennobled, Fernando the Catholic forced the greater protagonism of the juries or municipal consellers in front of the Council of One Hundred, the municipal Council that represented the traditional assembly power (the representation numerical of the Consell de Cent was the following: 16 knights, 32 ciutadans honrats , 32 merchants, 32 artists, and 32 mechanics, a representation theoretically more popular than that of the consellers ). Certainly it was much easier to control 5 or 6 people than a large collective. About the consellers or juries will no longer be the responsibility of the executive power but the power to appoint candidates to be introduced in the stock market of the names of the other municipal offices. Because certainly the key to the insatiable method is not logically in the raffle, but in the criterion of the introduction of the names in the bag of the raffles. And in addition, it is necessary to know well the system of composition of the different estates, especially the one of the so spoiled ciutadans .

Theoretically, Fernando the Catholic will break with the insatiable system the traditional way of belonging to the power that was the inheritance, which had generated impregnable castes. In 1510 the king will legislate the system of appointment of new *ciudadanos*. For this, the assembly of *ciudadanos honrados* met on March 1 at the *Consell de Cent*. After the formal presentation all the direct male descendants of the *ciudadanos* who had reached the age of 20 were registered in the registration. The assembly then proceeded to vote secretly candidates nominated by the *consellers*. The royal edict of 1510 specified the need for unanimous approval as a requirement for the admission of new *ciudadanos*, which meant in practice that very few new *ciudadanos* entered the estate. The co-option filter was rigorous. According to Palos, since 1511 it took 20 years for the second elective meeting of *Ciudadanos* to be held. The actual appointment of *ciudadanos* would not occur until well into the sixteenth century. In practice, the immobilization of the *Ciudadanos* was evident and the old families would continue to rule.<sup>33</sup> The clearest proof that the insaculatory method did not serve the king in Catalonia is that in 1652, after the Catalan revolution, the first thing the king does is to control it by forcing the possibility of dissaculation to prevent access to the municipal power of persons « *non gratas* ». The examination of the members of the *Consell de Cent* by JL Palos reveals, on the other hand, that chance, the presumed chance of the draw, favored certain families that monopolize power year after year and that were not characterized precisely by their devotion to the monarchy.<sup>3. 4</sup>

If we find invalid the myth of the absolutist despotism of Ferdinand the Catholic presumably bent on changing the legal system, the counterimage of the *vicens-vivista* model of the "alleged moralizing crusade" introduced by Ferdinand the Catholic against the corruption of the native and local administration.

The absolutism of the Catholic King was, in short, more voluntarist than effective. His political management can be summarized in the "he did what he could"; Of course, never what he wanted. Their interests were never to combat the corruption of the local administration but simply to enhance their own power through strategic and tactically opportune social alliances at all times. His strategy of recovering the Real Patrimony in Catalonia, as Bernardo Hernández has shown recently, could never prosper because of the need to maintain the *profernandino* power group that had consolidated the reformed institutions, and the fear that any income recovered would go to the city of Barcelona.<sup>35</sup>

But the main grievances against the absolutism of the Catholic King have been projected on his little liking to summon Courts. I think that this question also deserves some clarifications.

The greater or lesser frequency in the convocation of Cortes is not the best indicator of the pactist vocation of the monarch. Although we do not agree with González Antón in converting the Cortes of the Crown of Aragon into a mere exercise of the right of petition and petition, without legislative capacity, it is undeniable that they were not the axis of the system of liberties that has been glossed so much since nationalism. It seems clear that if Fernando el Católico summoned only two Cortes, it was not because of anti-constitutionalism, but simply because he had sources of better profitability, as E. Belenguer has shown.<sup>36</sup> The foral price that he had to pay for the Cortes he convened does not suggest a hypothetical fear of the king to the inevitable presentation of grievances and demands of rights inherent in the Cortes.

In the same vein of converting Ferdinand the Catholic into the representation of centralist absolutism, he has been given the responsibility of restoring the Inquisition to the Crown of Aragon in 1482 as a political resource to destroy the regional

government. The subject is very complex and would require a whole book to specify the origins of the modern Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon. Say, for now, that as is well known, the Inquisition already existed in the Crown of Aragon since the thirteenth century. Another thing is that the Inquisition was recreated with the Bull of Sixtus IV in 1478. Was the modern Inquisition really so different from the medieval one? What made the two Inquisitions different? Of course, it was not the procedures nor the identity of the victims to be persecuted. In other words, the birth of the Jewish problem was not the cause of the birth of the modern Inquisition. The converso problem existed from 1391 and in fact the manuals of the medieval Inquisition frequently referred to the Jews and converts by the inquisitors.

Was then the differential key of both Inquisitions the political function that the modern Inquisition would have and would not have the medieval Inquisition? The controversy over whether the modern Inquisition was an essentially political or religious Court starts from nothing less than the Cortes de Cádiz. Today what can be said about it is the following:

1) The line of separation of Church and State was always blurred in the Old Regime. The difficulty in differentiating the temporal from the spiritual is evident. Significantly, the Spanish polysynodal monarchy included three ecclesiastical councils: Inquisition, Orders and Crusade.

2) The ambiguity in the identity of the Inquisition was constant. If the king had the capacity to appoint General Inquisitors, control the resources of the Inquisition and be able to decide on jurisdictional lawsuits, the Pope was the repository of the final legitimacy of the Inquisition that always claimed the spiritual source of his power. This ambiguity of origin was a source of jurisdictional conflicts, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, real and municipal jurisdiction. These jurisdictional conflicts were, to a large extent, subject to the lurches of the relationship of the Church and the State.

The Catholic King was able to impose the Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, two years behind the Crown of Castile through a policy of *faits accomplis*, taking advantage of circumstances such as the doubting attitude of Pope Alexander VI, a good friend of his, and the fact of counting with his son the archbishop of Zaragoza who always legitimized all his actions. In other words, if he could do what he did, it was thanks to the ecclesiastical permissiveness that was exercised in his favor.

3) On the other hand, the current studies on the origins of the Inquisition show us that in practice, the inquisitorial repression exercised in a traumatic way in the Crown of Aragon did not imply during the reign of the Catholic King a special rearmament of its absolutist power. Whether by the bloody resistance-murder of S. Pedro de Arbués- or do not cruentas -the Foral battle of the Cortes- the truth is that the Inquisition until 1516, despite the huge sweep of converts, did not generate the economic profitability or the political profitability that so many times, a historiography very conditioned by the Calvary converted, he wanted to see. The administrative machinery of the company-Inquisition devoured the succulent income from the confiscations of goods, which reported nothing to the royal treasury. And the Inquisition did not grant exceptional powers to the Catholic King or legitimize the supposed political centralism of the king. As Jaime Contreras has shown, the Inquisition was also dual in Castile and Aragon. With different legal patients - in the Crown of Aragon, for example, the Inquisition had jurisdiction over the sins of sodomy and bestiality and instead, not in Castile-, but above all with different attributions by the king. In the Spanish sphere the king had legislative initiative and the power to impose inquisitorial criminal procedure (attribution to the

judge to initiate the process independently of the parties) and in the Crown of Aragon lacked these attributions. 37

It is true that the weakness of the State itself required a police apparatus and state scope to designate as heresy all dissonance with the established value system, configured by the alliance of the Church and the State. And naturally the Inquisition was an instrument that endowed the monarchy with resources with respect to the federal structure and we insisted on weakening that state. But they were never resources of their own. They were borrowed resources, always dependent on the conjuncture of Church-State relations, of random and even personal factors. Otherwise the contradictions between the inquisitorial action and the interests of the monarchy would not be explained. Why, if the Inquisition was politically controlled as a Tribunal at the service of the State, Fernando breaks the Inquisition in July 1507 (naming Cisneros as Inquisitor General in Castile and Joan Enguera as Inquisitor in the Crown of Aragon), just when he returns from Italy for the death of Philip the Fair and at the request of Cisneros returns to govern in Castile? On the other hand, we know that the Inquisitor General Deza was much more in favor of Felipe el Hermoso than of Fernando and, of course, Cisneros was, according to Llorente, "enemy of the Inquisition", an inquisitor, in any case, atypical. We know that the Inquisitor General Deza was much more in favor of Felipe el Hermoso than of Fernando and of course, Cisneros was, according to Llorente, "enemy of the Inquisition", an inquisitor, in any case, atypical. We know that the Inquisitor General Deza was much more in favor of Felipe el Hermoso than of Fernando and of course, Cisneros was, according to Llorente, "enemy of the Inquisition", an inquisitor, in any case, atypical. 38

As a last argument to qualify the overly simplistic label of the Catholic King's centralist absolutism, it is interesting to review the image of the Catholic King in Catalan advertising in the Guerra dels Segadors.

The much-maligned Fernando el Católico for his absolutism is curiously sublimated by the revolutionary texts of 1640 as the representative of a pactism that Felipe IV had broken with his policy. In the Catholic Proclamation, Gaspar Sala recalled Fernando's testament in praiseworthy terms: "King Don Fernando at the time of expiring (which is to say truths) said that never avian (the Catalans) lacked his faith. And recommending Senor Principe Carles, he said that he would love them, because he would find in them fidelity of the other Reynos." In the booklet Disappointments of the Principality of Catalonia, it was urged that the Catalan constitutions should be jealously preserved and the example of King Ferdinand was invoked: « The eldest understood this fine reason of state was the catholic King Don Fernando who had a rule that whenever the ballast of the satisfaction of the King and the King were equal, the King and the King would be durable ... ». 39

In the time of Olivares, Fernando is evoked nostalgically. In the face of effective absolutism and also laden with ideological legitimations of the moment, fernandino absolutism purely based on the immediate and immediate benefit strategy, it must have looked like a child's game.

3) The third myth to be analyzed is that of the responsibility of the Catholic King in the decadence of Catalan culture or Castilianization. This concept is obviously complex. What do we understand by Catalan culture? Culture in Catalan? Culture in Catalonia? Culture produced? Consumed culture? It is obvious that Castilianization only affects printed literature. Even the Catalan aristocracy continued to use Catalan, as the correspondence between Borja and Requesens will later reveal. Neither the

teachings nor the preaching of the clergy were made in Spanish until the seventeenth century with great debates about it. We will begin by delimiting the two key concepts.

A) Culture in Catalan . The decadence of this concept is an unquestionable fact, more certainly at the level of culture produced than consumed. The great authors of Catalan literature had already died in 1492. Ausiàs March in 1459, Bernat Martorell in 1469, Jaume Roig in 1478, Isabel de Villena in 1490. But the edition would be later. Ausiàs March would not be published in Barcelona until 1543 and 1545; Martorell and his *Tirant* it would be published in Catalonia in 1497 (the first edition is in Valencia in 1490) and in Castilian in Valladolid in 1511. J. Roig would not be published in Valencia until 1531 and in Barcelona until 1561. Only Lull and Eiximenis were frequently edited in the final years of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI. Other authors such as B. Metge will not be edited until the 19th century. In this respect, however, it is convenient to make several precisions:

a) It is absurd to identify the Castilian Grammar of Nebrija and its identification of Castilian as the language of the empire with the Castilianization of Catalonia. The Spanish Grammar of Nebrija had in its time much less impact than the Nebrija Dictionary, with multiple editions from 1507 to 1540 in which the competition of Erasmus Syntax suffers. It is the Latin Nebrija that triumphs in Catalonia and not Castilian. 40

b) In the field of editorial production until 1500, the linguistic battle takes place between Latin and vulgar languages, not between Catalan and Castilian. Latin was hegemonic until 1530; from 1530 to 1560 Catalan would be hegemonic and only from 1570 can we speak of the hegemony of Castilian in the editorial production.

c) The chronology of Castilianization, understood as the progressive literary use of Castilian by Catalan writers, started already at the beginning of the 15th century. Bilingualism is an incontrovertible fact from Torroella to Vinyoles passing through Morner and many others. On the other hand, if we understand Castilianization as the escalation of editorial production in Spanish, the phenomenon must be delayed a lot, as we said, until 1570.

d) In the reasons of the Castilianization more than the so often invoked introduction of the dynasty Trastámara counted, as Riquer already showed, the absence of the Court with the progressive identification of Castilian as the language of the king, the religious reform of the Catalan monasteries that he made the Catalan pulpits were occupied by Castilian orators (the work in this sense of García Ximénez de Cisneros is evident), and of course a factor often forgotten: the need to reach a greater number of readers than the printing press, from 1500, date on which the first printed work in Castilian is published. 41

B) Culture in Catalonia outside the language . In this concept, decadence is more questionable. From the editorial production side, the annual average of printed books is high. According to Norton data, from 1500 to 1520, 7'6 books are published annually in Barcelona, and six in Valencia. The figure is at the height of Valladolid in the mid-sixteenth century when it was Corte, the one in Seville and Madrid, in the second half of the 16th century.

From the side of consumption the number of owners is also remarkable. From 1501 to 1550 it would be an average of 28.6% inventories with books. Average that will be reduced in the second half of the 16th century (24.4%). The average number of books per library will be in the period 1473-1550 of 15'6; of 1501-1550 of 21'9 and of 1551-1600 of 35'2. 42

It is therefore necessary to insist that a reductionist identification of Catalan culture with Castilian culture can not be established. The assessment of the Catalan Renaissance can not be done only from the point of view of the language. Catalan humanism like Castilian was expressed in Latin. The work in this sense of Martí Ivarra, Miquel Mai, Rafael Joan, Joan Margarit, Ferrán Valentí, Felip de Malla, Pere Miquel Carbonell and Jeroni Pau is remarkable. Literature in Spanish has well-known names from Boscán to songbooks. Literature certainly mediocre produced in Catalonia, compared to that produced in the same years in Castile (Manrique, Celestina, ...) - despite the efforts of H.Nader in devaluing Castilian Renaissance literature - but that can not lead us to impute to Castile the reasons for that evident Catalan inferiority in these years.<sup>43</sup> I think that in the analysis of Catalan cultural decline can not forget either Italy that exercised an evident fascination over the Catalans not matched by the Italians who launched not a few darts against the greed, ignorance and corruption of the Catalans. The criticisms in this regard of the Italian humanists are well known. Italy was a reference myth for the Catalan nobility that came and went constantly to Italy - the Requesens, Centelles, Cardona ... - or Italians came to Catalonia as the Ventivoglio knight who had a house in Barcelona and even Lucrecia Borgia who came to Barcelona in 1504. The first competition that Catalan had among the vulgar languages was Italian before Castilian. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the presence of Italian works in Catalan libraries is constant.

The Catalan seduction in Italy was intense. Literally the Italian influence is felt in Bernat Metge, at the beginning of the 15th century and will continue throughout this century through, above all, the impact of Dante -Andreu Febrer made the first translation versified in 1423-, Boccaccio -his *Corbaccio* was translated by Narcís Franch; the *Fiaumeta* was translated by an anonymous author and the *Decameron*, conveniently adapted, by monks of S. Cugat del Vallés - and above all Petrarca.

The period of greatest influence will be the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous who set up in his Neapolitan court from 1442 a nucleus of Italianate poets such as Lleonart de Sers, Lluís de Requesens, Francesc Ferrer, Joan Fogasset, etc.

Italian artistic influence was later. The tradition of Gothic and the influence of the artists of Northern Europe lasted until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Architecturally, the first sign of the Italian Renaissance in Spain is the College of Santa Cruz de Valladolid finished precisely in 1491.

In Catalonia the Casa del Ardiaca is the first example of Renaissance architecture that was completed in 1510 and the now defunct Gralla house dating from 1518. In sculpture, the first works of Bartolomé Ordóñez from Burgos, based in Barcelona and very influenced by Italians, they date from 1515. Forment and Díez de Liatzasolo are later, already in the 30s of the XVI. The painting will be monopolized by the influence of Flanders, as the work in Barcelona of Juan de Borgoña perfectly testifies.<sup>44</sup>

At the time, then, to fix the keys to the evolution of Catalan culture, we can not, then, lock ourselves into the dialectic of that culture with Castilian. The currents of exogenous influence not only came from the Castilian court.

## References

1. Anderson, Benedict (2007), *imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and diffusion of nationalism*. Mexico City: Economic Culture Fund.
2. Appadurai, Arjun (2001), *The overflowed modernity. Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Buenos Aires: Economic Culture Fund.



3. Ardèvol, Elisenda et al. (2004), The performance of online identity: representation and simulation strategies in cyberspace in [http://eardevol.files.wordpress.com/2008/10/gircom\\_ciberart\\_vl.pdf](http://eardevol.files.wordpress.com/2008/10/gircom_ciberart_vl.pdf).
4. Bhabha, Homi (2002), *The place of culture*, Buenos Aires, Spring.
6. Barth, Fredrik (1976), *Ethnic groups and their borders*. Mexico City: Economic Culture Fund.
7. Cabello, Antonio Martín, (2006), *The Birmingham School: the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies and the origin of cultural studies*. Madrid: Publication Service of the Rey Juan Carlos University, Legal and Social Sciences Series.
8. Curran, James et al., (eds.) (1998), *Cultural studies and communication. Analysis, production and cultural consumption of identity politics and postmodernism*. Barcelona: Paidós.
9. Of the Chain, Marisol (ed.) (2008a), *Formations of indianidad. Racial articulations, miscegenation and nation in Latin America*. Popayán: Enviñón.
10. Of the Chain, Marisol (2008b), *Are hybrid mestizos? The conceptual policies of identities*, in Marisol de la Cadena, (ed.), *Formaciones de indianidad. Racial articulations, miscegenation and nation in Latin America*. Popayán: Enviñón, 84-116.
11. Degregori, Carlos Iván (1995), "The study of the other: changes in the analysis of ethnicity in Peru", in Julio Cotler (ed.), *Peru 1964-1994*. Lima: IEP, 303-332.
12. Devalle, Susana BC (2008), *Identity and ethnicity: continuity and change*. Mexico: College of Mexico.
13. Durand, Gilberto (2005), *The anthropological structures of the imaginary*. Mexico City: Economic Culture Fund.
14. Giménez, Gilberto (2006), "The contemporary debate around the concept of ethnicity", *Culture and social representations*, year 1, 1, 129-144.
15. Grillo, Óscar (2007), "Internet as a separate world and the internet as part of the world", in Mirian Cárdenas and Martín Mora (eds.), *Ciberoamérica en red. Scotomas and phosphores 2.0*. Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 27-44.
16. Greene, Shane (2009), *Roads and roads: accustoming indigeneity in the Peruvian jungle*, Lima: IEP, COMISEDH, DED.
17. Gros, Christian (1998), "The indigenous movement: from national-populism to neoliberalism", in Hans-Joachim König (ed.), *The Indian as subject and object of Latin American history*. Frankfurt / Main, Center for Latin American Studies of the Catholic University of Eichstätt, 185-198.
18. Hall, Stuart (1981) "Culture, the media and the 'ideological effect'", in James Curran, Michael Gurevich and Janet Woollacott (eds.), *Society and mass communication*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
19. Hall, Stuart (1996) "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?", In Stuart Hall and Paul du Guy (eds.), *Cultural Identity Issues*, Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.
20. Hall, Stuart, (1998), "Meaning, representation, ideology: Althusser and post-structuralist debates", in James Curran, David Morley and Valerie Walkerdine (comp.), *Cultural studies and communication. Analysis, production and cultural consumption of identity politics and postmodernism*. Barcelona: Paidós.
21. Hall, Stuart (2005), "The importance of Gramsci for the study of race and ethnicity", *Colombian Journal of Anthropology*, 41, 219-257.
22. Hine, Christine (2000), *Virtual Ethnography*. Barcelona: UOC Editorial.
23. König, Hans-Joachim (1998), "Barbarians or symbol of freedom? Minor or citizen? Image of the Indian and Indianist politics in Spanish America", in Hans-Joachim König (ed.), *The Indian as subject and object of Latin American*

- history. Past and present. Frankfurt / Main: Center for Latin American Studies of the Catholic University of Eichstätt, 13-31.
24. Larson, Brooke (2002), *Indigenous, elites and State in the formation of the Andean Republics 1850-1910*. Lima: IEP / PUCP.
  25. Le Bot, Yvon (1998), "Can we talk about ethnic social actors in Latin America?", In Hans-Joachim König (ed.), *The Indian as subject and object of Latin American history*. Frankfurt / Main: Center for Latin American Studies of the Catholic University of Eichstätt, 199-205.
  26. Leung, Linda (2007), *Virtual Ethnicity. Race, resistance and World Wide Web*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
  27. Lévy, Pierre (2007), *Cyberculture*. Report to the Council of Europe. Barcelona: Anthropos.
  28. Mayans i Planells, Joan (2002), *nick Cyberspace / set topic concepts and terms for socioanthropological analysis*, presented at the 1st online Congress of the Observatory for Cybersociety: Culture & Politics @ Cyberspace (September 9-22, 2002) accessed to 06/10/2010,
  29. <http://www.cibersociedad.net/congreso/comms/g10mayans.htm>.
  30. Méndez, Cecilia (2000), *Incas yes, no Indians: notes for the study of Creole nationalism in Peru*. Lima: IEP.